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ABSTRACT

After the Castro revolution of 1959, the new Cuban revolutionary government began a massive literacy campaign that taught 700,000 persons to read in about a year. Twenty years later, Nicaragua, facing an even more serious literacy problem, conducted a similar literacy campaign. In approximately six months, Nicaragua had reduced illiteracy by 37 percent. What accounts for the phenomenal success of these two countries in producing such massive reductions in illiteracy? Several features that the two campaigns had in common can help to explain their success. First of all, the literacy campaigns were a continuation of the revolutionary mentality, substituting a war of governmental control for a war on illiteracy. The new patriots were able to channel their revolutionary fervor to a new cause and help to solidify their political gains at the same time. Second, the subject matter of the literacy campaign was political; new government leaders needed the support of the people, so they used the teaching of reading as a tool for the teaching of their political philosophy. Third, both campaigns relied on the commitment of enthusiastic volunteers in a common cause, especially hundreds of thousands of high school-aged youth. Finally, the literacy campaigns succeeded because of the tremendous dedication with which they were mounted and carried out, again a product of the revolutionary zeal, and because of their political bias that served as a unifying force for learners and teachers. (The literacy campaigns of each country are described in detail in this paper.) (KC)

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LITERACY CRUSADES AND REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS: The Cases of Cuba, 1961, and Nicaragua, 1980.

William Sanders

March 31, 1983

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In 1959 a revolutionary government came to power in Cuba. Exactly two decades later Nicaragua was in the same position. Both revolutionary governments quickly followed their military victories with massive and successful literacy campaigns.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the events leading to and resulting from these campaigns; to analyze their organization, goals, and problems; and to compare and contrast their results and methods.

This paper attempts to demonstrate that, at least from the evidence gathered from these two campaigns, revolutionary governments seem to be in the best position to mount a massive literacy drive because they appear to be able to garner the needed sacrifice, spirit, commitment, and organization.

Although the reader need not be a cryptographer in sensing the author's enthusiasm and viewpoint regarding these accomplishments every attempt has been made to present the information in an objective and candid manner.

As one looks at the educational system in Cuba prior to the revolution one finds a system that was politically corrupt, economically inefficient, demographically unequal and largely irrelevant to the needs of the country. These points were noted, abashadly, by those inside the educational establishment, decried by those from an international viewpoint, and seized upon by the future heroes of the revolution as positive proof of the decadence of the Batista regime.

In spite of the fact that Cuba was outspending almost every other Latin American country their results were disastrous. The Cuban Minister of Education said in 1953 that the system was "An approbrium

and a shame, and, in addition, a dangerous menace to the Cuban people. It was a case of entrenched banditry and of gunmen and an asylum of professional highway robbers."[1] Rather strong language from an "insider."

The 1950 World Bank Report confirmed the belief that the Education Budget under Batista was, to a large degree, a political slush fund which was not being used to educate the people. "Administrative faults have been the most important cause of Cuba's deficiencies. . . the Cuban people have not been getting their money's worth for the relatively generous amounts they have been willing to spend."[2] This report went on to point out the unusually large amounts of money that were spent for central administration (political appointees) and relatively small amounts of money for such things as teacher preparation and vocational training. This last area, particularly, represented a crying need in a country that was attempting to industrialize.

According to the 1953 census only 55.6% of the school-age children every reported to school. The accompanying "Age-education profile," from that census and an official government document, clearly pointed out that the government had defaulted on the guarantee of the 1942 Constitution to provide eight years of primary education.[3] In fact, if one compared the Cuba of 1953 with that of a generation before there had been more primary education, relative to total population, for Cubans in 1923 than there was in 1953. This report was empirical, objective, "ideologically neutral," but ripe with possibilities for political interpretation. (See Addendum # 1 for the complete profile.)

[1] Dudley Sears, Cuba: The Economic and Social Revolution, (North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 172.

[2] Ibid., p. 171.

[3] Ibid., p. 175.

This point, and the accompanying political analysis was not lost on Che Guevara. "There are more illiterates in Cuba today than there were 25 years ago, because of the whole government education policy of embezzling and of building a few insignificant schools at the crossroads." This statement of May 1, 1959 captured the mood and resentment of the revolutionary government.

After the "Age-education profile," the largest, if not the last, nail on the figurative education coffin of the Batista regime, the government realized they had failed, and what was worse, it was obvious to others. Cuba had an illiteracy rate of 23% but there were large rural areas where the figures reached 48%.[4] Those who could read were receiving an education that was, for the needs of the country, irrelevant at best.[5] Besiged by criticism from all corners they started the "1956 Educational Reform." This program added 400 new classrooms, two new universities and again drained much money from the national budget.[6] This reform failed. The reasons were predictable. They planned for this "future" the way they had planned for the past. . . not exactly the prescription for successful reform.

The new schools were still "at the crossroads" in the Guevaran idion. The countryside was still without education. The new universities were still in the cities and their curricula still out of touch with the desperate needs for agricultural researchers and advisers and industrial managers and engineers. The educational leaders were still the wolves in charge of helping the sheep. This point did not go unnoticed by

[4]Sir Charles Jeffries, Illiteracy: A World Problem, (Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 64.

[5]Although the country had great quantities of lawyers they had almost no specialist in agriculture, engineering, and manufacturing.

[6]At this point the Ed. Budget was about 1/4th of the entire gov't. expenditures, or equal to $12 per inhabitant.

Fidel Castro who said, six years before the revolution: "A revolutionary government would undertake the integral reform of the educational system." This vision, which was so much apart of the guerilla movement in the Sierra Maestra mountains (where the first of the illiteracy campaign was waged to teach the rebels to read), was the seed which flowered in the National Literacy Crusade of 1961. In Cuba it was to be the "Year of Education."

The crusade was first announced to the Cuban people in the fall of 1960 and formally presented before the United Nations Assembly on September 4, 1960. To an audience of mostly incredulous listenders Castro averred, "Next year our people propose to launch an all-out offensive against illiteracy, with the ambitious goal of teaching every illiterate person to read and write."[7]

Aside from abolishing illiteracy, which was defined to mean raising each person's skills to that equivalent to the end of first grade (See Addendum # 2 for the "post-test"), there were other clear and explicit goals.

Dr. Meir Feber was one of Cuba's oldest and most respected educators. He chose to stay, unlike some others, to help with the campaign. He saw it as more than simply teaching poor people to read but, "To enable two portions of the population that had been instrumental in the process of revolution from the first, to find a common bond, a common spirit, a common goal. The peasants discovered the word. The students discovered the poor."[8] Bridging the historical and cultural gap between poor and rich, urban and rural, while forging a sense of unity and nation remained concern of the campaign.

[7]Sears, p. 176. An interesting historical note here is that exactly two days after Castro's speech in the U.N. the "Bay of Pigs" invasion was launched.

[8]Jonathan Kozol, "A New Look at the Literary Campaign in Cuba," Harvard Educational Review, (August, 1978), 348.

Another obvious goal of the revolutionary government was to teach the people the ideology of the new government. As such, the teaching manuals were political documents.

The last major goal was to prepare the way for a nation that sought to enter the industrialized world. Cuba was without the necessary work force at all levels to do this; the government hoped that this educational investment would soon pay off by providing capable workers and managers.

There were, of course, other tacit yet apparent goals. It is always difficult to continue the revolutionary fervor and exhiliration that comes from victory once the oppressor has left, even when the residual debt of economic, psychological, political, and educational ruin are still with a people. To rekindle that spirit of sacrifice for the common good, to demonstrate the concern for the most downtrodden, to uplift those who were most exploited by the vanquished -- these were surely goals that were in the minds of the leaders of the new government.

Castro's Cuba also inherited a country whose people were obviously untrained to deal with the industrial, technical, and agricultural challenges that needed to be met. What small number of agricultural, engineering, and technical people the country had before the revolution were surely lessened by their mass exodus after the revolution. In that the government decided, before the campaign actually started, to establish a National Scholarship Plan for the ablest and most ambitious of the student literacy volunteers (brigadistas) one could logically infer that another goal of the campaign was to identify and develop the most talented of their young people in order to fuel the revolution from within. These scholarships were targeted to develop leadership in the above mentioned areas.

In order to accomplish these goals the campaign was divided into different and discrete periods. They were the preparatory period (September 1960-January 1, 1961) and then three additional phases.

The Municipal Literacy and Basic Education Commission was set up when the Revolutionary Army entered Havana on January 1, 1959. It worked to involve, promote and experiment with literacy methods that had been used by the army since their guerilla days in the mountains.

The traditional methods of Ana Echegoyen and Marcia L. Loler and the Laubach approach were first studied. All were eventually rejected because of their relative ineffectiveness. The government simply didn't feel they could promote a national crusade on the back of a pedagogy that was only partially adequate.

Dr. Raul Gutierrez, Minister of Education, suggested than an investigation be done which would attempt to analyze the vocabulary of the Cuban farmer. With that job completed Gutierrez then attempted to adapt the pedagogies of Echegoyen and Laubach, which were technically sound, to the specific motivation of the campaign and the country.

As Anna Lorenzetto and Karel Neys, observers of UNESCO, later summarized:

> There was a need for a primer whose revolutionary and political content would not only have an adequate motivation from an historical and psychological point of view, but also would equally express this motivation in a comprehensible form and as close(sic) as possible to the language and expressions of the Cuban farmer.[9]

[9] Anna Lorenzetto and Karel Neyes, Methods and Means Utilised in Cuba to Eliminate Illiteracy, (UNESCO REPORT, 1965), p. 10.

Along with creating this primer, the teachers' manual, setting up the organizational framework, procurring supplies (3,000,000 books, 145,000 parafin lamps, 150,000 hammocks, etc.), taking a literary census, identifying those in need and those ready to help, the last goal of this preparatory period was to convey seriousness.

Dudley sears, an economist on leave from Yale to study the Cuban economy, remarked that it was, "A massive mobilization of whole populations seldom seen except in war." [10] This "war-footing," as Lorenzetto and Neys put it, served to remind the population of the commitment , thoroughness, and seriousness of the venture. Even Coca-Cola, one of the conspicuous remnants of pre-revolutionary Cuba, felt compelled to donate free advertising with their large billboards which read, "Even in the Year of Education, citizens still need the pause that refreshes. Use that pause to teach a family to read and write." [11]

January 1, 1961 marked not only day one of the Year of Education but also the first day of the Literary Campaign. During this first phase, which lasted until April, the major goals were to establish the field organization, creative intensive publicity, and train the first of the "Alfabetizadores" (volunteer literary workers), the "Brigadistas (the student volunteers), and the professional teachers.

A group of about 35,000 trained teachers played a vital role in the campaign, particularly at this stage, by giving orientation to all of the volunteers in the use of the primer and teachers'

[10] Sears, p. 192.

[11] Kozol, p. 345.

manual. All told there were 233,608 volunteers from an island population of about 3,000,000, one-fourth of whom could not read or write. Obviously the publicity campaign in the preparatory stage was successful. The slogan everywhere was, "If you know teach; if you don't, learn."

The motivation of the volunteers at this stage is an interesting and profound question. Interestingly enough, one analysis of the campaign by Jonathan Kozol, is that with all of this enthusiasm the real motivation was not socialism, but rather socialism was the result and consequence of the experience. His interviews with the brigadistas present a theme of "ethical exhilaration," a sense of "freshness, optimism, and bravado"[12] from the participants who sought to slay the dragon and eventually succeeded.

Perhaps, as in Russia, Mexico, China, and recently Nicaragua there is no issue more popular to rally around for a new government than the elimination of illiteracy. The ideology of the revolutionary is complex and divisive; even as it seeks unity it must struggle against the believers of the old order; yet, the symbol of ending illiteracy is simple, direct, and yearning to be understood.

In that most of the volunteers were non-professionals they were given training before they started. For the young, mostly urban middle-class, brigadistas it was a 10-day stay in the Varadero Beach Hotel (formerly a favorite tourist spot) where they were taught

[12]Kozol, p. 344.

how to live with the peasants and given the essentials, books and supplies. Since 40% of these original 100,000 volunteers were between 10 and 14 and the average age was 15 this training was no small task.

The second phase of the campaign was recognized by all to be the most constant and productive stage of the campaign (Lorenzetto, Ferrer, Diaz-Hernandez, Jeffries, Morales, Sears). The schools were closed from April 1 to September 5, the same period as the second phase, so the greatest number of brigadistas were available. The organizational chart (See Addendum # 3) shows how the ideal literarcy unit functioned with each alphabatizador working with two illiterates. This group would also include 24 other volunteers along with other support people.

By mid-summer the campaign results were still very much behind schedule. But rather than allow this disappointment to change the goal the government amplified their intensity to reach that goal. In august, Fidel made an urgent appeal to all workers for help in the literacy drive. The "Patria o Muerte" Workers' Brigade was organized and then taught while at work, or sometimes volunteered to work overtime, so that their illiterate colleagues could receive extra instruction.

The introduction of the workers' brigade was a recognition that the campaign was not going to be successful without further mobilization and sacrifice. This ongoing elevation of commitment throughout the campaign was to a large degree its trademark.

At the end of the campaign the Conrado Benitez Brigadistas [13] (the yough brigade) and the Patria o Muerte volunteers marched "side by side in the mass meeting at the Jose Marti Plaza of the Revolution on December 22, where Cuba was declared 'territory free from illiteracy.'" [14] This symbolically joined the young with the old, the urban with the rural, the middle-class with the working class and reiterated their sense of common purpose and identification with nationhood.

In addition to the person to person contact to teach and encourage literacy the mass media played an important role in educating and propagandizing the people. Six hundred and seventeen television programs and 1,548 radio shows were aired whose purpose was either literacy instruction or motivation to be involved in the struggle to educate themselves or others. Acting as national cheerleaders, along with the omnipresent billboards, the mass media would exhort, cajole, instruct, and congratulate and finally celebrate the national goal.

The third stage of the campaign, which lasted from September 5 (date of the National Literacy Congress) until the proclamation of December, was to compensate for past oversights (new groups of illiterates were "discovered" in Havana's worst slums and in some of the most remote regions of the country in early November) and intensify efforts with those who were falling behind in the primer. Both of these efforts again required more sacrifice and greater volunteerism.

[13] Named after Benitez, a young, black, illiterate Cuban who fought and died against Batista; he was used as a "symbol" of the new Cuba.
[14] Lorenzetto, p. 46.
[15] John Maddison, Radio & TV in Literacy, (UNESCO, 1971), p. 9.

For those who were falling behind camps were established around the island where instruction could be carried out continuously. Members of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution and other volunteers replaced those workers who were in the camps instead of their normal job.

To reach those in the most difficult to reach areas, hundreds of new "study coaches" were trained and then travelled at their own expense to the remote districts.

As the results would come in from each area the government would proclaim each district "free from illiteracy." As these declarations were made the brigadistas, advisers, etc. would go to other areas that were lagging behind.

The chart which follows summarizes the time-table of the campaign.

STAGE	DATES	PURPOSES	PUBLIC EVENTS
Preparatory Stage	9/60 to 12/60	create the national literacy commission; develop census and questionnaire; develop primer and manual; test materials; create organizational structure or campaign	announcement to the Cuban people; announcement in the U.N.
Stage I	Jan. 1 1961 March 30 1961	train teachers to instruct volunteers; train pilot brigadistas; create field organization; conduct intensive publicity	declaration of the Year of Education
Stage II	April 1 1961 Sept. 5 1961	massive numbers of brigadistas teaching; regular schools closed; primer and manual utilized	National Literacy Congress
Stage III	Sept. 6 1961 Dec. 22 1961	locate "problem" areas and provide study coaches; assist slow learners by use of the camps	Proclamation of Cuba "Free from Illiteracy"

This goal of eliminating illiteracy could not have been accomplished were any of these essentials lacking; national commitment, mobilization of the volunteers, students ready to learn, and appropriate materials.

Choosing the materials proved to be a difficult and time consuming job. The small amount of success the government experienced while using traditional, apolitical materials suggested that another approach was needed. Following the study of the Cuban farmers' language, at Dr. Guitterez's urging, the primer was changed to a much simpler idion (particularly at the beginning) whose content was not just revolutionary, but Cuban revolutionary. The primer, "Venceremos" (We shall conquer), was designed to start very easy and gradually become more difficult to read. While it presented incrementally more complex political ideas it also developed writing and reading skills. These 1½ million copies of "Venceremos" was the book which each illiterate used in the struggle for literacy.

Here are the 15 lessons which would be followed by 2 or 3 exercises of comprehension and writing.

1. OEA (OAS) [16] 2. INRA (National Institute for Agrarian Reform) 3. The Cooperative Farm under the Agrarian Reform 4. The Land 5. Cuban Fisherman 6. The People's Store 7. Every Cuban, a Home Owner 8. A Healthy Cuban in a Free Cuba 9. INIT (National Institute of Tourist Industries 10. The Militia 11. The Revolution Wins all the Battles 12. The People at Work 13. Cuba is not Alone 14. The Year of Education 15. Poetry and the Alphabet. [17]

[16] In that Cuba had just been expelled from the OAS this is a good example of a politically charged vocabularly.

[17] Lorenzetto, p. 23.

The primer had illustrations from Cuban life whose purpose was to provide a basis for mutual learning and sharing. The initial illustrations were to make the first contact between the student and the teacher later, by way of dialogue, rather than the traditional hierarchical relationship.

This pedagogy is based on the now famous teachings of Dr. Paolo Freire. His approach is characterized by the use of the "generative" word (what could be more "generative than a first topic of CAS?), a highly charged political content which seeks to "liberate" the taught by having them understand their world (that is to become more "subjective" according to Freire's terminology) and by discussing and analyzing with the people pictures in a "dialogical" way, before the printed word is presented, where the teacher is a part of the group process not at the head of it.

Fidel Castro's literacy expert, Dr. Raoul Ferrer, was a personal friend of Dr. Freire,and this happenstance forebode well for the success that was to follow Cuba's campaign and the fame which was to follow Freire.

The teachers' manual contained not only material on how to teach but also a clear exposition of "24 revolutionary themes" which were to be related to the teaching in the primer. These were: 1. The Revolution 2. Fidel is Our Leader 3. The Land is Curs 4. The Cooperative Farms 5. The Right to Housing 6. Cuba had Riches and was Poor 7. Nationalization 8. Industrialization 9. The Revolution Converts Army Barracks in Schools 10. Racial Discrimination 11. Friends and Enemies 12. Imperialism 13. International Trade 14. War and Peace 15. International Unity 16. Democracy 17. Workers and Farmers 18. The People,

United and Alert 19. Freedom of Religion 20. Health 21. Popular Recreation 22. The Abolition of Illiteracy 23. The Revolution Wins All the Battles 24. The Declaration of Havana [18]

In analyzing the primer and the manual one can clearly see the revolutionary government attempting to achieve one of its goals, which was to interpret and define socialism to the people. It is easy to concentrate on "process" -- that is ending illiteracy, as the main goal of the campaign; it might be equally appropriate to concentrate on what that process used, "substance," that is revolutionary themes, or "results," a country more able to understand itself, compete in the world, and aware of its governments' explicit goals. In that all facets dovetail rather nicely it is possibly futile to spend too much energy in this type of circuitous "chicken or the egg" reasoning; but it does lend valuable understanding to why revolutionary governments -- that is governments which are created as a result of armed insurrection, driven by a moral intensity, and whose purpose is to end the oppression of the poor -- so quickly turn to literacy campaigns as their first mobilization of the people.

The process brings together a maximum number of people in a common effort of sacrifice and concern; the results are obvious and symbolic; the revolutionary government has the opportunity to consolidate and expand its hold on the loyalty of the people.

As the Cuban Year of Education ended and the Year of Planning (1962) approached education continued to be an item of top priority. In reviewing both subjective (testimonial) and

[18]Lorenzetto, p. 24.

bjective (dollar charts, % of GNP for education, % of increase, etc.) information one is impressed with both the quantity of increase and the specificity of its allocation to correct previous problems.

The brigadistas were rewarded by the creation of 70,000 scholarships[19], mostly with a technological emphasis. Enrollment in technological institutes, for instance, rose 300% between 1958 and 1962.

A program designed to help workers understand their machines and their work more was introduced, "Minimo Técnico," and by September, 1962 had 72,000 workers enrolled. Each student-worker spent an average of 100 hours studying and received a diploma from the government as recognition of their labor.

The Adult Education Program, whose main goal was to reach those who were already literate before the campaign, now had the resources to really get under way under Dr. Raúl Ferrer. In fact, by 1962 ½ of the total school students were enrolled as adults in the Adult Education Program. Public expenditures for education continued to be a top priority item receiving approximately 1/3 of the total government budget. The chart below details its growth.

YEAR	TOTAL MILLION DOLLARS	DOLLARS PER CAPITA
1958	74.2	11.4
1959	88.4	13.2
1960	110.2	16.2
1961	170.0	24.5
1962	270.4	38.1

[19] In that education was now free, "scholarships" here mean that both room, board, and a stipend would be provided.

The program that I found most interesting was one designed to help the 70,000 domestics whose employers had left the country-- leaving them unemployed, and now, without saleable skills. These "Domestic Schools included scholarship programs to retrain and produce taxi drivers, bankers, hotel managers and more. One program designed to create clerks, bank workers and secretaries took 1,050 students and housed them in the post Hotel Nacional in Havana, paid them $30.00 per month for food, and then followed them with counseling until employment was found. One ironic twist was to put the former domestics in charge of the house they used to be a domestic in and use the house to board brigadistas now on scholarship. The symbolism of having these large mansions now run by the ex-domestics and occupied by brigadistas must have been apparent to anyone with even a short memory.

In analyzing the results of the literacy campaign it is helpful to have some comparative data. Of those nations in the Caribbean the average rate of illiteracy now is around 25%. (The figure of Haiti is about 90%.) In 1965 UNESCO changed the status of Cuba to an "Advanced" nation based solely on <u>their</u> recognition that Cuba was a 100% literate nation. It is interesting how the U.N. got this information.

At the conclusion of the campaign Cuba asked UNESCO to send a team of observers to verify their claim. The U.N. agreed and sent the eniment Italian educator Anna Lorenzetto. Her observations appeared, with that of Professor Karel Neyes, in a book entitled, <u>Methods and Means Utilized in Cuba to Eliminate Illiteracy</u>. The book is, in Jonathan Kozol's words, "the untold story of our generation." [20] Unfortunately Lorenzetto and Neyes' work nearly wasn't told.

[20] Kozol, p. 341.

Their book emphasized the "war-footing" concept (that is, Cuba "fought" illiteracy with that same energy they fought with in the revolution), the politically charged content of the primer, and the fact that "the campaign was not a miracle but a difficult conquest achieved by virtue of work technique, and organization," [21] was not published for years.

The U.N. thought the authors had become too enthusiastic about their work and, obviously sensitive to the political winds, asked for a toned down second version. The revised work was again rejected. Eventually the Cuban government published the book. Later, at a European conference on literacy, the work resurfaced and the U.N. now publishes it.

Besides this U.N. verification others have gone to see what has happened. Arthur Gillette, Jonathan Kozol, Dudley Sears, and others have all reviewed the data and interview the people; no one disputes the fact of 707,212 illiterates being taught to read in one year of the Cuban Literacy Campaign, though each may tend to emphasize different aspects.

The campaign succeeded, in my judgment, because it was a part of a revolutionary transformation of society. In philosophy, spirit, and organization it was an integral, visible, part of wider, societal changes. It would be difficult to imagine such educational changes outside of a society undergoing radical, simultaneous, social change.

The legacy of its success might be that the Cuban Literacy Campaign of 1961 is now the "model" for revolutionary governments to study while planning their own strategy for ending illiteracy while consolidating power. One government that recently did this was Nicaragua.

[21] Lorenzetto, p. 72.

Prior to the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua their revolutionary vision of a new nation was clear. Its first step, they declared, was to become a literate nation. Their job was even more difficult than the one of Cuba in 1961 but they did have the advantage of learning from that experience. They used that advantage, and others, very well.

The decision to launch a massive literary campaign was made even before liberation. Their confidence in a military victory, their belief in the need for a literacy campaign, and their ability to see beyond the next day (even when they were involved in a protracted urban guerilla war) all testify to the intensity of moral purpose which characterizes revolutionary governments.

The new government inherited a country with an illiteracy rate of 50% (85% in rural areas) and where, in the previous two years of battle, 40,000 people had been killed, 40,000 children orphaned and 100,000 wounded. Financially they were left with a national debt of $1.6 billion (one of the highest per capita debt rates in the world) and Samoza had fled with all of the national treasury except $3.5 million. [22]

Because of these problems, and what they represented, the literacy campaign was given top priority. Two of Nicaragua's leading educators, Carlos Tunnerman Bernheim and Miguel de Castilla Urbana, were in exile at this time preparing the overall plan for the campaign and writing the basals. [23]

[22]Fernando Cardenal, S.J. and Valerie Miller, "Nicaragua 1980: The Battle of the ABCs," Harvard Educational Review, February 1981, p.2.

[23]Charles L. Stansifer, "The Nicaraguan National Literacy Crusade," American University Field Staff Magazine, 1981, volume 6, p. 1.

The campaign was announced to the Nicaraguan people a mere 15 days after liberation (July 19, 1979. This was quickly followed by visits by Raoul Ferrer in August, 1979[24], by Paulo Freire on October 24, 1979 for a 9 day visit and six weeks later the official blessing from Director General of UNESCO Amadou-Mahtar m'Bow. These men had kind words of encouragement and shared their analyses of the situation.

Ferrer and Freire shared the same viewpoints with the Nicaraguan people which they had held and practiced for years. The revolution in Nicaragua was accepted by UNESCO far differently than Cuba's had been almost two decades before. M'Bow spoke not only of achieving general literacy, for example, but also of bringing, "Profound change in the relationship between various social strata in the country. . . where new authorities will reorganize and expand its educational, cultural, and scientific institutions and to redeploy its means of production in lines with a coherent, overall programme." [25] (added emphasis is mine) The language, vision, and aspirations of the Cuban revolution, which had become manifest in their campaign, was no sounding strangely like that of the Director General's vision for the Nicaraguan government. His encouraging words about the Nicaraguan effort helped to promote international acceptance of the crusade. Some things do change.

[24] This time Raoul Ferrer, head of the Cuban Literacy Campaign of 1961, was in Managua as a special advisor representing not only Cuba but UNESCO. This irony speaks not only of the acceptance of Cuba's campaign, and of Friere's pedagogy, but also of the change in the relationship between UNESCO and third-world countries.

[25] Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, "Nicaragua's nation-wide literacy campaign: An appeal by the Director-General of UNESCO," UNESCO COURIER, June 1980, p. 10.

At the end of September, 1979 the 7 person core team of the Nicaraguan Literacy Campaign visited Cuba for a week. They interviewed people, studied in the Literacy Museum and met with each other in strategy sessions. They worked 15 hours a day for 7 days before bringing back their finalized version of the Bernheim - Urbana plans. [26]

The first group of 2,000 volunteers that were sent out to canvas the countryside found 722,431 illiterates. With this recognition the "second war" was under way.

To reverse the image of a "literacy teacher" was an important goal during the beginning of the campaign. Under Samoza so-called "literacy teachers" were actually spies whose job was really to find out who was sympathetic to the Sandinistas. This was called "Plan Waslala" under Samoza. Father Fernando Cardenal, Nicaraguan Literacy Crusade Director wrote, "Under Samoza, Nicaragua was run as a family plantation. This promotion of universal literacy or adult education was irrelevant and potentially threatening." [27]

Illiteracy simply was no problem, given Nicaragua's pre-revolutionary political economy, but rather a necessity. The maintainance of the system was dependent on illiterates. One peasant put it astutely, "Samoza never taught us to read -- it was really ungrateful of him, wasn't it? He knew that if he taught us to read we would claim our rights." [28]

26 Cardenal and Miller, p. 11.

27 Ibid, p. 4.

28 Ibid.

While meeting with the Nicaraguan people related some of his philosophy. "The task of reacing is a political one. . . The very decision to teach people to read and write is a political one."[29] How much like the Professor does the peasant sound? Freire went a step further to say, "Literacy could only have a genuine meaning in a country which is going through a revolutionary process."[30] The government, the people, the pedagogy seemed to meet and find each other under the most auspicious circumstances.

Although the price of the revolution was dear -- $10 million in destroyed educational facilities alone -- Nicaragua was in a far better position to manage than might have been expected. While Director-General M'Bow sent out an urgent appeal for immediate international aid the Sandinistas were already being well received by many.

Julio Cortazar, the Argentinian novelist, personally visited the campaign and was amazed by the psychological transformation of the people. Instead of being depressed and lethargic they had turned into a vibrant, hard-working, and enthusiastic nation. He celebrated the Sandinista government which, to his liking, included a healthy number of poets and intellectuals (Ernesto Cardenal, Sergio Ramirez, Tomas Borge among other) and for "whom reconstruction means not only raising the country from its smoking ruins but also enabling children and adults to participate fully, consciously, and critically in this undertaking."[31]

[29]Paulo Freire, "Letters for a young nation," UNESCO COURIER, June 1980, p. 27.

[30]Cardenal and Miller, p. 17.

[31]Julio Cortazar, "Literacy and the liberation of a people," UNESCO COURIER, June 1980, p. 12.

While many nations contributed financially to the campaign (see Addendum #4) Cuba gave the campaign its greatest asset -- people. Besides Ferrer and his four associates Cuba sent 1,200 volunteers. The largest financial contributor was the U.S.A. which contributed 24 jeeps (worth about $190,000) and $2,650,000 in food. The latter donation was from the United States Agency for International Development was was bitterly debated in the Congress. [32]

Along with outside help Patriotic Literacy Bonds were sold to the citizens. While observer Charles L. Stansifer, of the University of Kansas and writing for the American Field Staff Magazine, reported that government workers who failed to "give" 1/30th of their salary were threatened with dismissal Father Cardenal and Valerie Miller (University of Mass.) reported that employers merely "tithed one day's salary each month to the campaign." [33]

While this disagreement stands out it is clear that those who did not participate in the campaign, in some way, were suspected of being counterrevolutionary, or worse, collaborators with Samoza whose guardsmen were and are continuing to threaten the revolution and the lives of Nicaraguans. [34] Because of this fear many moderate groups made sure they were both visible and supportive of the campaign.

Help, other than that already reported, also came from CELADEL, a Latin-American ecumenical group and CREPAL, a Latin-American adult education and literacy group.

[32]Stansifer, p. 13.

[33]Cardenal and Miller, p. 11.

In organizing the campaign many essential questions needed to be answered before the volunteers could be put to work. When should it begin and end? What should happen to the regular schools? Were Indian languages and English to be included? How much should "conscientization" [35] be pushed? What about the parents' fear for kids in the mountains and dangerous border areas? What should be the role for youth, women, and peasants? How could the church be included? How could the campaign be finances?

Many of these questions were never fully answered, at least to the satisfaction of some, or their answers simply evolved as the campaign pushed its way forward.

Of the 225,000 brigadista volunteers (probably only 717,000 were "eligible" by age and skill level[36]) most were high school students. Although the official staff of the National Literacy Campaign (See addendum #5 for the formal organizational chart) represented a broad spectrum of political beliefs (FSLN militants, Priests, social democrats, technocrats) all united in their hatred of "Somocismo" the FSLN dominated the mass organizations (See addendum #6 for a listing of these organizations) and exercised much more control than was foreseen by the staff.

[34]As this report is being typed battles are being fought on the Honduras-Nicaragua border between right-wing insurgents and the Nic. soldiers. Robert Leiken, International Relations Prof. at Georgetown University calls the US's involvement an "open secret" while State Dept. representatives refused to confirm or deny US involvement, Congressional sub-committees did release reports 3/29/83 which showed $19M of CIA money being given to Somoza forces. Similiar reports have been given by the New York Times and Time magazine which have discovered various pieces of US made equipment being used by the Somoza forces.

[35]is the term borrowed from Freire which means to raise the political consciousness of the participants while teaching reading

[36]Richard Arnove, "The Nic. Nat'l Lit. Crusade of 1980." (Comp. Educational Review, (January, 1981), 249.

This was due primarily to the great number of young Sandinistas involved and their superior organization which was learned while fighting for liberation. This unintentional, de facto decentralization, away from the National Literacy Commission and toward the grass-roots political committees, "had much to do with the crusade's success"[37] in the eyes of many.

Getting along with the Roman Catholic Church was also something that had to be dealt with in a country as intensely catholic as Nicaragua. The Crusade's coordinator was Father Fernando Cardenal who, it was hoped, could use his stature and oratorical abilities to win the enthusiasm of the masses and at least the tolerance of the church.

With much of the FSLN literature, which preceded the campaign, having a Marxist perspective the church, many catholics, and the middle-class were suspicious and or defensive about letting the children become involved. Comments by Sergio Ramirez, interim junta leader, that, "It is difficult to conceive today how the simple opinion of a parent is going to stop a young person with revolutionary ideals. . . from incorporating himself into the literary campaign" [38] and others like it only served to exacerbate an already charged situation.

After much fence-mending, and one would guess considerable pleading, the Pope did release this statement.

[37]Stansifer, p. 5.

[38]Open letter by Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Paris, January 25, 1980, in Encuentro, no. 16, p. 64

> I consider that an initiative aimed at taking the bread of culture to every citizen without discrimination is in itself deserving of every praise, as long as it is programmed and carried out with full respect to the rights and religious convictions of the people and also in agreement with the parents of the participating students. This respect for the right of parents and the Catholic family to an education in conformity with the religion which they profess excludes the imposition of concepts contrary to their faith. [39]

Undoubtedly a stronger endorsement would have been preferred but given the circumstances it was gladly accepted and used as the official position of the church.[40]

Opposition to the literacy materials came not only from the middle-class, who felt they were being made scapegoats at this point, but also from conservative, destitute groups who thought the new political system represented a threat to their beliefs and values.

> These groups included indigenous and English-speaking populations of the Atlantic Coast region who for more than a century had been politically and commercially oriented toward England and the United States (these people, historically have perceived the Spanish-speaking Pacific Coast region of Nicaragua as a source of repression) and conservative rural populations who, as devout Christians, thought that the political content of the Sandinista revolution was too closely associated with atheistic communism. [41]

[39] Ibid., p. 66.

[40] This strained relationship between Father Cardenal and the Holy Father has continued to disintegrate. In the Pope's recent visit to Nic. (3/21/83) he went to great lengths to publicly admonish Father Cardenal and scold other catholics who stood too close to the Sandinista regime. He did not rebuff right-wing forces which have killed 300 in the last 20 months.

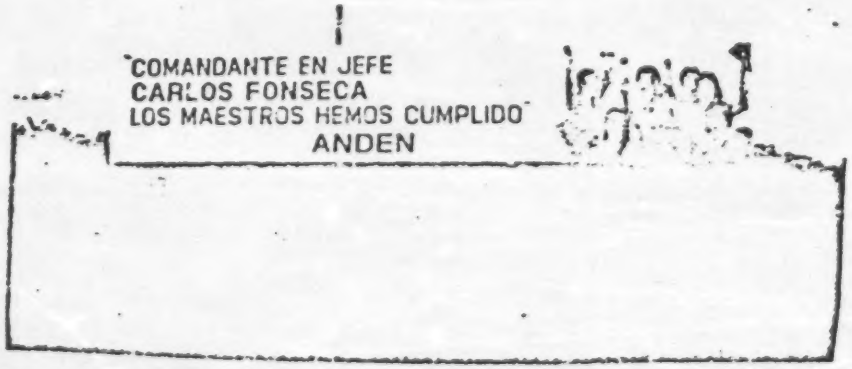
[41] Arnove, p. 255.

This lack of communication and the resulting suspicion held by most of the non-Spanish speaking population has continued to be a problem. It proved, in fact, to be the major failing of the literacy campaign and also represents the population least loyal to the Sandinista vision of nationhood.

As was previously stated the crusade was carried out, to a large degree, by secondary students, and therefore, the 19 Julio Sandinista Youth had a weighty influence. Not wanting the students to get too far ahead of the teachers, and aware that many already thought of them as collaborators or, at least, conservative, the teachers' union (ANDEN) became radicalized, visible, and active. The two billboard pictures below speak clearly of the posturing, cheerleading, and group dynamics that evolve from such a mobilization.

"From our trenches the literacy instructors salute the first anniversary freeing Nic. of illiteracy. We conquered in the Insurrecti We will conquer illiteracy.

Sandinista Youth 19 July



Commander in Chief, Carl Fonseca, We teachers fulfilled our obligation

ANDEN (Teachers' union)

Robert F. Arnow, writing in Comparative Educational Review, visited Nicaragua immediately after the campaign; it was the campaign's effect on these young people, rather than the youth's effect on the campaign that he found important. Although a teacher and writer in Latin-America for 7 years the results he saw in Nicaragua he would have considered impossible before the campaign. The illiteracy rate fell fr m 50% to 13% in just 6 months; the affective changes on the young people are likely to be permanent.

> The literacy teachers themselves probably underwent the greatest transformation of values and behaviors. These largely middle-class youth experienced in an unforgettable way the poverty of th rural areas. They toiled in the fields, shared the many hardships of hunger of rural families, and frequently feel victim to the same illnesses of ysentery and malaria. Similarly, many of the school dropouts and unemployed youth who worked with the literacy campaign in urban areas were, for the first time in their lives, given an important societal role to play; they were indeed contributing to social change and nation building. Such experiences had to have a significant impact on their self-images and their views of the new society and their role in it.[42]

Although the campaign lasted only 6 months and had many goals the most important, that I detected, was the need to democratize the country. While the Nicaraguan leadership looked world-wide for support and advice they turned toward themselves, to the most humble of their countrymen, for the inspiration to emerge out of despotism toward a just social order.

Arnove wrote convincingly that, "If few national literacy campaigns have attempted or accomplished so much in so little

[42]Arnove, p. 255.

times, it is also the case that few political regimes have committed themselves so totally to enlarging the understanding of their populaces and empowering them to be the main actors in the shaping of their destiny."[43]

As the crusade ended, formally on September 3, new crusades were begun in English, Miskito, and Sumo to involve and educate non-Spanish speakers. In addition, the next major Nicaraguan crusade, the Health Crusade, was announced; the literacy crusade was planned to be a prototype, of sorts, for other national improvement crusades to follow.[44]

Although many of the minor goals of the campaign (various census of fowl, fauna, flora, etc.) fell short one interesting find, which was very unusual and of great historical importance, was the collection of 7,500 cassettes which include the oral history of the people and how they dealt with life before, during, and after the revolution. Also, folk legends and regional popular songs were recorded and are now apart of Nicaragua's Ministry of Culture.

[43] Arnove, p. 260.

[44] On the 3/3/83 Today Show reporter Jon Alpert said that during 1982 both polio and malaria were wiped out as diseases in Nicaragua. Also reported was the overwhelming support of the Sandinista government by the Maryknoll missionaries who have found the new government extremely helpful in their work with the poor. Ironically, perhaps, the Catholic University had temporarily closed because the priests, allegedly, radicalized the students. Now open with imported Profs. from Spain, under the orders of the Pope and the conservative Archbishop, the university now has 11 students.

Although some of the failures of the literacy campaign were due to having too many goals, another aim which met with only partial success was the attempt at conscientization. Resistance to conscientization was due, in my opinion, to the very many young, enthusiastic but, perhaps, overly zealous brigadistas who attacked religion or were unable to properly interpret the political material. (How can a 15 year old really raise the consciousness of a poor farmer about hunger; or a 13 year old girl to a grandmother on the issue of womens' rights?) Although Freire writes "that education, teaching adults to read and write, can never be neutrall All education presupposes, by its very nature, a political intention"[45] and this philosophy was accepted by the campaign, not all of the campesinos in the countryside were ready for their first school lesson to be accompanied by the political analysis of a 15-year old.[46]

Freire who had been stripped of his political rights while educating Brazilians 15 years before (because the government suspected he was both a radical and a communist), was now not only a representative of the third-world but also an appointee from the World Council of Churches. (He had also been a visiting professor at Harvard and the University of Paris in the past few years.)[47] His entirely logical,

[45] Freire, p. 27.

[46] Other recent books about the "fallacy" of a "neutral education" include: Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis, Schooling in a Capitalist America; Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society; Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism; Michael Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform; Joel Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State; Neil Postman, Illiteracy in America: The Politics of Reading.

[47] Phillip R. Fletcher, Literacy Training and the Brazilian Political Economy, ERIC DOCUMENT # ED070921.

dialogical approach, his new lexicon for teachers, his intense interest in having the vocabulary spring from the learner is all pedagogically sound but hardly practical when it needs to be taught to almost ½million teachers, most of whom are teenagers, in just a few days. His thoughts, which have inspired many academic discussions,[48] could hardly be simplified in so short a time.

The training-orientation did concentrate on teaching workers how to use the reading primer, Dawn of the People, the mathematics primer, Math and Economic Reconstruction: One Single Operation, and the teacher's guide. Those workers who were going to wilderness regions also received training for first aid and wilderness survival. Like Cuba, the brigadistas were mostly urban and middle-class and needed practical instructions in how to approach the poverty, disease, and living standard of the countryside.

In examing the basal reader I was struck by three items. The use of the "generative" themes, as suggested by Freire, is intact (a sample is the first lesson and "liberacion," which incidentally contains all of the vowel sounds, revolucion, genocidio, masas populares) as is the emphasis on

[48]For reviews of Friere's most popular book in English, The Pedagogy of the Oppressed see: America, vol. 124 (March 13, 1971); Library Journal, vol. 96 (April 1, 1971); Science, vol. 172 (May 14, 1971); Canadian Forum, vol.51 (June 1, 1971); Christian Century, vol. 80 (June 2, 1971); and Saturday Review, vol. 54 (June 19, 1971).

recent political history. The second observation is that Nicaragua also used the analogy of "war-footing" that was applauded by Lorenzetto. (Examples would be, "The War on Ignorance," "The Cultural Insurrection," "The Literacy Warriors, " etc.) The third, and most subtle, is that the basal is pro-Sandinista, anti-elitist, anti-imperialist, but not necessarily Marxist and certainly not anti-U.S.A.

The explanation, one could argue, is that all were joining to expurgate illiteracy the same way they had joined to defeat the brutality of Somoza. They came together, fought, and died not as socialist but as a people looking for a different social order -- one yet to be defined.

As one reads the letters of the newly literate (see addendum #7) one can sense the triumph of the brigadistas and their students and appreciate the unity they forged out of common toil and sacrifice.

Only with this type of broad and massive mobilization, with nearly everyone studying, would a campaign of this scope and sensitivity be successful, when

> adults willing to face the painful, public embarrassment of attempting to write their names on a blackboard. Only with this universal participation of people of all ages would it have been possible for adults over 60 years of age to learn from youngsters 12 & 13 years of age. They did learn, and often middle-aged people would read for their teenage literacy workers without hesitation, while they remained mute before older teacher-supervisors visiting the literacy unit. [49]

[49]Arnove, p. 248.

Youth perhaps has the disadvantages which accompany its excess of emotion and sometimes painful candor; but, yet, its smile can also disarm the fears and suspicions which have taken years to assemble.

This gap between the generations and the classes was definitely narrowed during the crusade. The common sacrifice of all allowed for benefits not seen in campaigns before. The UN has certified the rapid incline in literacy,[50] from 50% to 87%, it is unlikely that any nation could have completed this task of literacy, unity and political consolidation without equal levels of hard work.

Father Cardenal summarized the ingredient for success:

> In the final analysis, the success of the campaign depended on not only scientifically tested educational theories, or complex planning systems, or even sophisticated curriculum design. The ultimate success of the Literacy Crusade dependent on a commitment of a spirit -- a commitment of a people and a government born of a liberating struggle. Only that kind of creative force could generate and maintain the levels of sacrifice and dedication required to accomplish such a task.[51]

Although this paper has attempted to analyze and describe only the situations of Cuba and Nicaragua it is difficult not to notice this familiar motif, that Father Cardenal has described, in other parts of the world. This pattern of armed struggle followed by massive mobilizations for the purpose of a literacy campaign seems to enable success that would be impossible otherwise. Both Professor Le

[50] UNESCO gave Nicaragua its Nadezhda K. Krupskaya International award for their 1980 campaign.

[51] Cardenal and Miller, p. 26.

Thanh Khoi, University of Paris, writing mostly about the Vietnamese experience and Professor Stansifer, University of Kansas, writing about Nicaragua, note the relationship that appears more cause/effect than casual.

> History has shown that, up to the present, revolutionary regimes have been the only ones capable of organizing successful massive literacy campaigns. From the Soviet Union to China, from Vietnam to Cuba, all revolutionary governments have given high priority to the eradication of illiteracy because teaching people to read and write awakens consciousness and stimulates participation in political action. [52]

> The Nicaraguan National Literacy Crusade completed in August, 1980 was one of the most successful movements on behalf of education in the history of Latin America or the third world. Like other successful campaigns in Latin America - in Mexico in 1920 and in Cuba in 1961- the Nicaraguan campaign followed a revolution liberating the country of a hated dictator. (Revolutions, it appears, are necessary to prepare the people for sacrifice and extraordinary effort for the common good.) Not even the campaigns in Mexico and Cuba, however, involved such a high per centage of a nation's people as was committed to the literacy crusade in Nicaragua. [53]

Obvious similarities can be seen between Cuba's campaign of 1961 and Nicaragua's in 1980. Both involved massive mobilizations which involved the entire citizenry. Each relied heavily on the volunteer work of teenage students who were assisted by workers and peasants. Military-like slogans and goals identified each literacy crusade to their successful military victories over despots. The teaching manuals of each

[52]Le Thanh Khoi, "Literacy Training and Revolution: the Vietnamese Experience," Convergence, (Vol. 8, book 4, 1975), 29.

[53]Stansifer, p. 1.

reflected a need for a pedagogy which included overt political themes. And in attempting to unify the country each succeeded in having young middle-class, urbanites reach out to the countryside where in seeking to help they learned lessons that could never have been as dramatic or person if presented in the classroom.

Both countries, regrettably, were forced to fight illiteracy while still defending the very existence of their nations. While the "Bay of Pigs" occurred immediately after Castro's declaration to the U.N., Nicaragua had to teach students to read while being shot at by Somozan guardsmen who, correctly, regarded them as symbolic of the new nation.

Important differences should also be recognized. While Nicaragua had more than twice the percentage of illiterates and the country was in worse shape physically as a result of the revolutionary struggle, their urban warfare and lengthy combat with Somoza produced mass organizations that were experienced and able. Arnove states that it was the existence of these mass organizations, at the neighborhood and factory levels, which allowed Nicaragua to use and improve the Cuban model-- to "exceed in scope and intensity that country's 1961 literacy campaign. . . In Cuba, the mass organizations involved in the 1961 campaign, while effective, were in a fledgling state compared to those of Nicaragua." [54]

[54]Arnove, p. 250.

Nicaragua also had the advantages of international support and guidance while 19 years earlier Cuba had blazed their trail alone.

While Cuba had a totally Spanish-speaking population Nicaragua had to contend with citizens who were geographically and linguistically isolated. This strategic error by Nicaragua, of not providing teachers and materials early enough for non-Spanish speakers, was their single greatest miscalculation.

While not every literacy crusade may be cast from the same mold, I strongly suspect that successful future ones will imitate, to a large degree, the record which Cuba and Nicaragua have left. For the lesson seems evident that literacy campaigns sponsored by revolutionary governments can produce immediate, dramatic improvements for the people; they also lend stability and credibility to the government and build its legitimacy.

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Level of Schooling Attained in 1953, by Age[a]

Age	Probable years of primary schooling[b]	Total 000's	No Schooling %	No Schooling 000's	Primary %	Primary 000's	Secondary: Bachillerato %	Secondary: Bachillerato 000's
Population—10 years or more		4,377	25.3	1110	69.4	3038	2.0	88.6
Men		2,244	27.6	619	67.0	1503	2.4	54.1
Women		2,133	23.0	491	72.0	1536	1.6	34.4
6- 9	1950-53	504	74.5	420	25.5	144	—	—
10-14	1945-53	668	33.5	224	65.6	438	0.7	5
15-19	1940-52	558	23.8	133	69.7	389	5.4	10
20-24	1935-47	521	21.7	113	70.6	368	2.7	14
25-29	1930-42	454	19.6	89	72.7	330	2.6	12
30-34	1925-37	404	20.3	82	73.3	296	2.2	9
35-39	1920-33	383	20.9	80	73.4	283	1.8	7
40-44	1915-27	347	22.2	77	72.3	251	2.0	7
45-49	1910-22	293	23.5	69	71.3	209	1.7	5
50-54	1905-17	210	24.3	51	70.5	148	2.4	4
55-59	uncertain	139	26.6	37	68.3	95	1.4	2
60-64	"	152	30.9	47	65.1	99	1.3	2
65-69	"	100	37.7	40	58.5	62	0.9	1
70-74	"	67	44.8	30	52.2	35	1.5	1
75-79	"	35	42.9	15	54.3	19	.	—
80-84	"	21	52.4	11	42.9	9		—
85 or more	"	19	63.2	12	30.8	7		—

a. The number in each group does not include those who have completed a higher level of education.

b. Assuming persons have done their primary schooling between the ages of 6 and 14.

Secondary: Vocational %	Secondary: Vocational 000's	University: 1-4 Years %	University: 1-4 Years 000's	University: 5 years Or More %	University: 5 years Or More 000's	Primary: 6, 7 or 8th grade %	Primary: 6, 7 or 8th grade 000's	Secondary: Bachillerato 5th year %	Secondary: Bachillerato 5th year 000's	Secondary: Vocational 4th year %	Secondary: Vocational 4th year 000's
2.0	86.5	0.7	31.5	0.5	21.9	17.4	762.6	0.5	22.1	1.0	45.7
1.4	32.1	0.8	18.4	0.8	17.5	16.4	367.9	0.6	13.3	0.7	14.9
2.6	54.4	0.6	13.1	0.2	4.4	18.5	391.9	0.4	8.8	1.4	30.8
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0.1	1	—	—		—	0.3	42.3	—	—	—	—
2.7	15	0.6	2		—	18.8	102.7	0.5	2.6	0.4	2.4
3.5	18	1.3	7	0.2	1.3	19.1	99.3	0.7	3.9	1.7	8.7
2.3	13	1.3	8	0.8	5.6	20.6	93.6	0.8	3.7	1.8	8.0
2.2	9	1.3	5	0.9	3.8	21.0	84.7	0.7	2.8	1.4	5.5
1.8	7	0.8	3	0.8	2.8	21.3	81.4	0.5	2.1	1.2	4.6
1.7	6	0.9	3	0.7	2.6	20.1	69.8	0.5	1.7	1.3	4.4
1.7	5	0.7	2	0.9	2.5	20.3	59.5	0.5	1.6	1.1	3.3
1.4	3	0.9	2	0.9	2.0	20.7	43.4	0.6	1.2	1.1	2.3
2.2	3	0.7	1	0.9	1.2	19.9	27.6	0.6	0.8	1.5	2.1
2.0	3	0.7	1	0.7	1.0	17.2	26.2	0.5	0.7	1.3	2.0
1.9	2	—		0.5	0.5	14.1	14.9	3.8	0.4	1.1	1.2
1.5	1	—		0.4	0.3	12.8	8.6	0.4	0.3	1.0	0.7
	—	—		0.8	0.2	10.3	5.4	0.3	0.1	0.9	0.5
	—	—			0.1	9.5	2.1		0.1	1.0	0.2
	—	—			—	7.4	1.4		—	0.5	0.1

Source: Censos de Población, Viviendas y Electoral 1953, Havana, Cuba. Tables 36 and 37, pp. 119 *et seq.* See also Part II, Appendix C, p. 375.

NATIONAL LITERACY COMMISSION
TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT
EVALUATION COMMISSION

Complete name of pupil _____

_____

Address _____

Age _____ Sex _____

Date of the test _____

Name of "alfabetizador" _____

Name of adviser _____

FINAL TEST

1. Write your complete name _____

_____

2. Write your address _____

_____

3. Read:

El Gobierno Revolucionario quiere convertir a Cuba en un país industrializado. (The Revolutionary Government wants to convert Cuba into an industrialized country.)

Se crearán muchas industrias. Trabajarán muchos obreros. Se acabará el desempleo. (Many industries will be created. Many workers will have jobs. Un employment will end.)

4. Answer the following questions:

What does the Revolutionary Government want? _____

What will be created? _____

What benefits will be obtained? _____

_____

5. Dictation of the paragraph read.

6. Write Dr. Fidel Castro the letter he asked for.

NOTE: Question 5 should be answered on the reverse side of this page.
The "alfabetizalor" will send the letter addressed to Dr. Fidel Castro to the Municipal Council.

TEST RESULTS

INITIAL TEST

Date _____

Result: Illiterate _____ Semi-literate _____

Verified by: _____ Adviser

Observations: _____

_____

INTERMEDIATE TEST

Date _____

Results: _____

_____

Do you believe the results of this test correspond to the work of the pupil in class? _____

_____

Verified by _____ Adviser

Observations: _____

_____

FINAL TEST

Date _____

Results: _____

Learned how to read and write_____ How long did he (she) take? _____

Verified by _____ Adviser

Observations: _____

_____

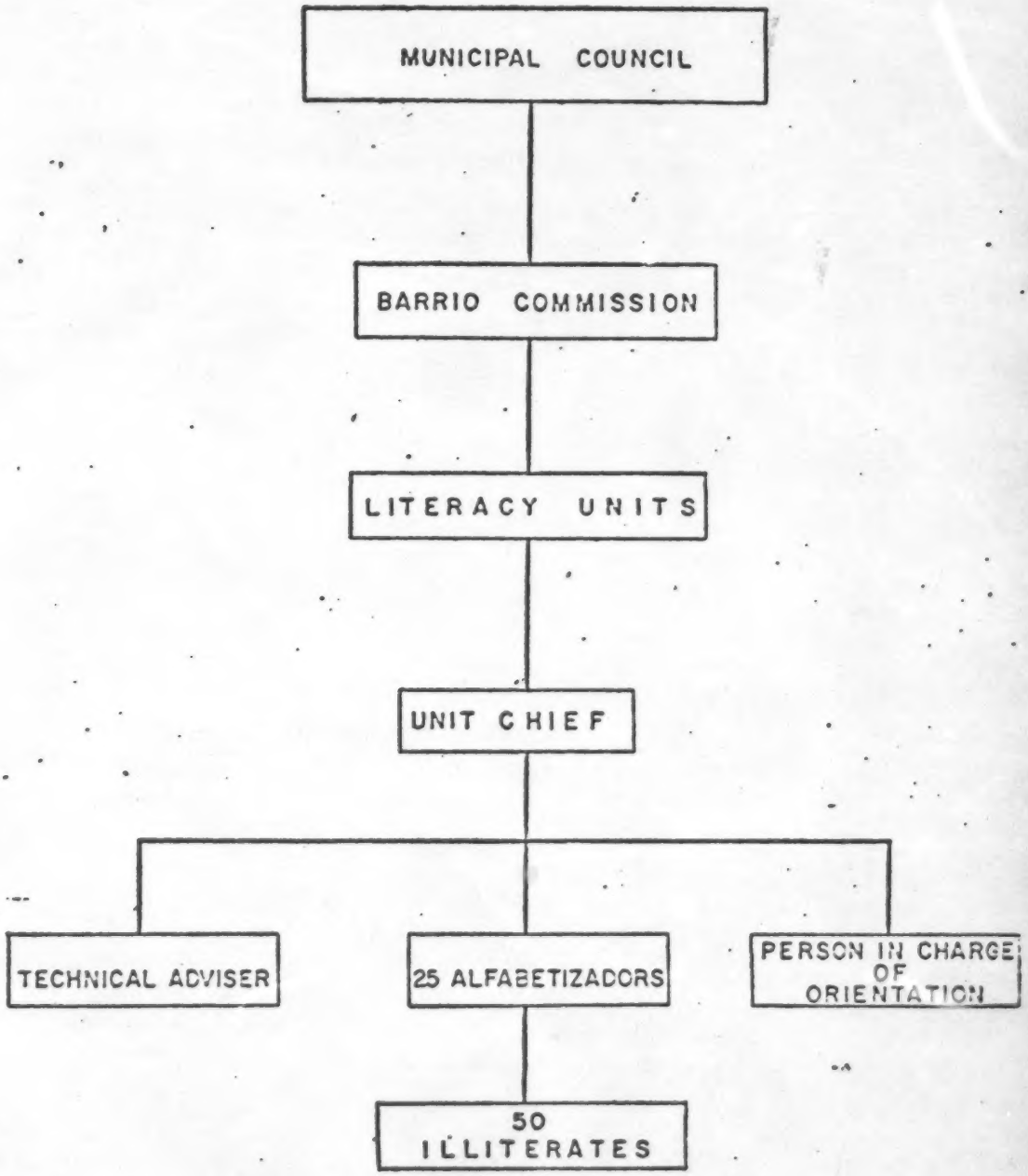
_____
Signature of the "Alfabetizador"

_____
Signature of Teacher in Charge

_____
Signature of the Adviser

Addendum # 3

LITERACY UNITS



Source: Lorenzetto

Addendum # 4

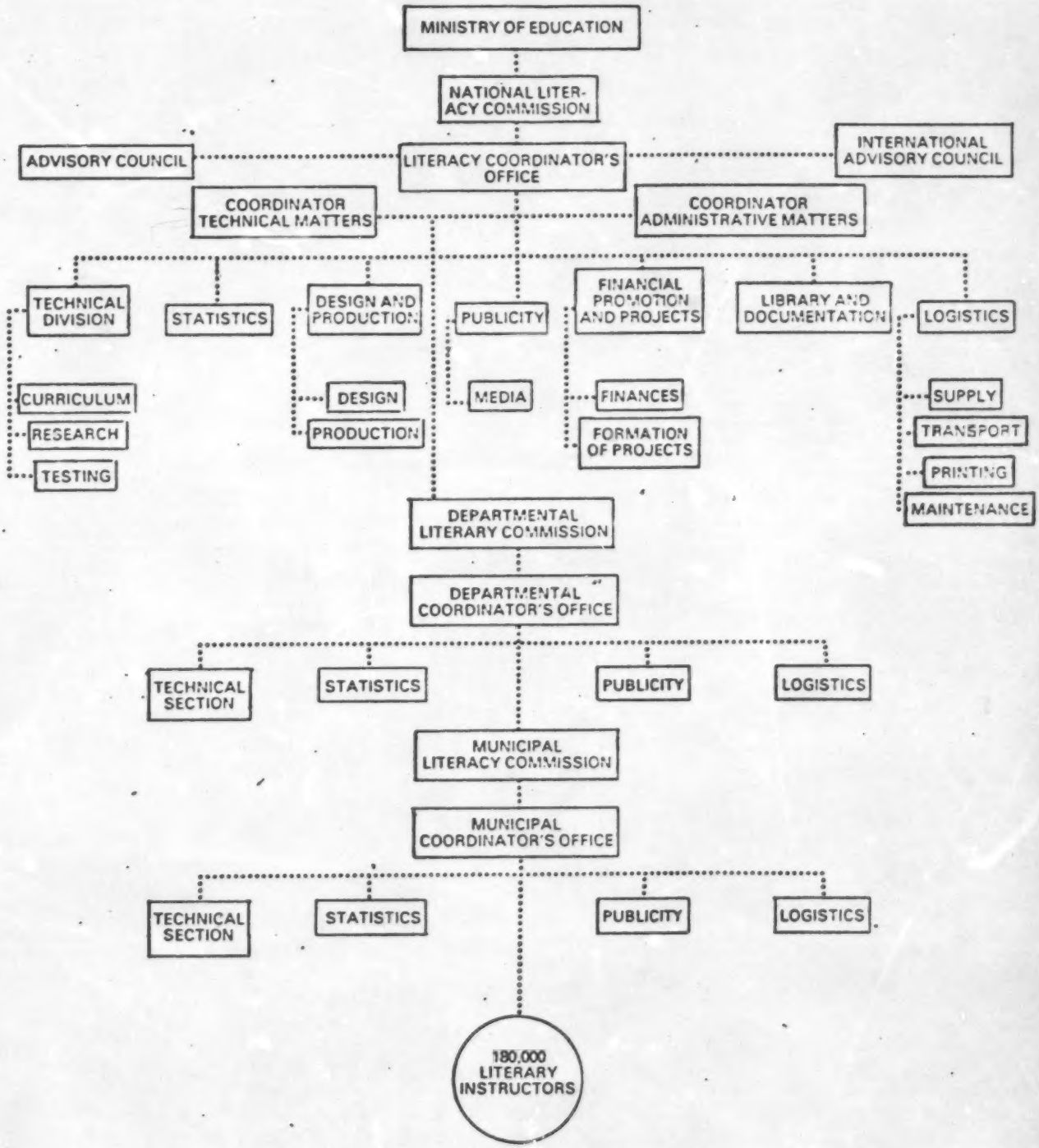
FOREIGN DONATIONS RECEIVED AS OF AUGUST 15, 1980
(In cordobas: 10 cordobas = one dollar)

AUSTRALIA	C9,631.3
AUSTRIA	193,130.6
BELGIUM	1,497,161.6
BRAZIL	8,000.0
CANADA	2,065,030.8
CHILE	184.0
COLOMBIA	67,100.0
COSTA RICA	47,537.5
CUBA	112,463.5
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	28,000.0
DENMARK	720,000.0
DOMICAN REPUBLIC	10,300.0
E. GERMANY	14,000.0
ECUADOR	105,126.3
EL SALVADOR	243.50
ENGLAND	3,646,782.00
FRANCE	1,202,280.80
GUATEMALA	32,286.00
HOLLAND	9,726,143.80
HONDURAS	13,755.00
HUNGARY	750,000.00
ITALY	2,380,000.00
MEXICO	253,212.70
PANAMA	25,100.00
PERU	380,000.00
PUERTO RICO	6,220.00
SPAIN	193,077.80
SWEDEN	10,100,000.00
SWITZERLAND	10,783,168.00
U.S.	22,675,163.66
U.S.S.R.	5,250.00
VENEZUELA	679,332.00
WEST GERMANY	13,872,491.00
YEMEN	20,000.00
YUGOSLAVIA	9,000.00
CENT. AM. BANK OF ECO. INTEGRATION	100,000.00
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY	2,476,756.00
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES	1,866,070.13
UNESCO	390,000.00
UNICEF	200,000.00

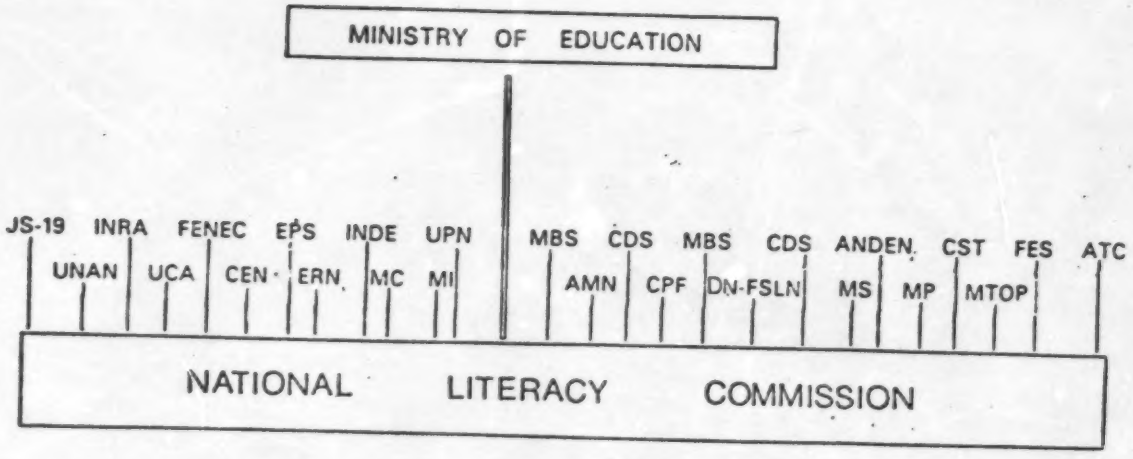
Source: *La Cruzada en Marcha*, No. 15 (August 1980), p. 3.

Addendum # 5

ORGANIZATION CHART OF NICARAGUAN NATIONAL LITERACY CRUSADE



Source: Nicaraguan National Literacy Crusade.



Guide to what the initials mean:

JS-19	Sandinista Youth 19th of July
INRA	Nicaraguan Agrarian Reform Institute
FENEC	Nicaraguan Federation of Catholic Teachers
EPS	Sandinista Popular Army
INDE	Nicaraguan Journalists Union
UNAN	National Autonomous University of Nicaragua
UCA	Central American University
CEN	Nicaraguan Episcopal Conference
ERN	Radio Schools of Nicaragua
MC	Ministry of Culture
MI	Ministry of the Interior
MBS	Ministry of Social Service
CDS	Sandinista Defense Committee
ANDEN	National Union of Teachers of Nicaragua
CST	Sandinista Trade Union Federation
FES	Secondary Students Federation
ATC	Association of Rural Workers
AMN	Association of Nicaraguan Women
CPF	Parents Confederation
DN-FSLN	FSLN National Directorate
MS	Ministry of Health
MP	Ministry of Planning
MTOP	Ministry of Transport and Public Works

5.

National Literacy Crusade

To my literacy teacher and companero: Guillermo Briones Cisnero

My friends, Nicaragua is free.
The oppression of Somoza is defeated
For with the rumbling of bullets,
  Anastasio and son ran far away.
And now with the shouting of ABCs,
  Ignorance flees and joins them in Paraguay.
These verses I do recite
  in honor of Guillermo, my friend and companero
Because I respect him like no other
  and love him like an older brother.

Anselmo Hurtado Lopez

• • •

Dear Mom and Dad,

I am fine. I arrived safe and sound but please send me 20 cans of grape juice. The well is filled with mud and the river is far away. . . .

Love, your son

• • •

Dear Folks,

I'm learning a lot. I now know how to milk a cow and plant vegetables. The other day I was with Don Demesio roping a steer but I'm so stupid that I frightened the thing and we had to work twice as hard to catch it again. . . . The rains are constant. The soles of my boots came unglued and I had to sew them with a needle they use to make sacks with.

Love, David

• • •

It's difficult sometimes. Tomasita is smart and wants to study but her baby cries a lot and she can't put him down. I visit her three times a day just on the chance she'll be free but . . . she's only on lesson 4. . . . Camilo doesn't seem to assimilate his sounds very well. Of course he does need glasses. He's 67. . . . Socorro and Joaquina are way ahead on lesson 14 but Julio left to pick coffee and Catalina's in bed with malaria. . . . Vicente has improved incredibly since he fell off his mule. He was really a lazy bum before. But now, with his broken arm, he's quite serious and dedicated, even though he's had to learn to write all over again with his left hand.

Guadalupe from the Brigade Enoc Ortez
in a report to her teaching supervisor

• • •

BEST COPY

Eight ex-national guardsmen crossed the border from Honduras yesterday and murdered the literacy teacher Georgino Andrade.

Newsbroadcast, Managua
May 19, 1980

• • •

The struggle is long and sometimes cruel. What's needed above all, my dear friend, is love and commitment. Remember, "the freedom of a people is not won with flowers." We are young and we are called upon to build the new, to create what our heroes and martyrs would have wanted. Put yourself in the place of Georgino Andrade. You wouldn't like it, if out of fear, the cause you gave your life for wasn't continued.

Letter to boyfriend Brigadista
from girlfriend Brigadista

• • •

The Literacy Crusade taught us two things. One, what our own children are capable of doing and of becoming. Two, what our country is like and how gentle and how poor our people are in the countryside.

Mother of three literacy volunteers

• • •

We take our malaria medicine twice a week and we're supposed to use our water purifying tablets. . . The sicknesses among the children are many. Eight children in the next valley died last month of measles, three from the same family. It's unbelievable the inhuman conditions these people live under. I feel indignation and rage at not being a doctor.

Brigadista
Atlantic Coast

• • •

The Crusade has been carried out by the kids of Nicaragua, the wonderful kids who under the leadership of the *Frente* fought the tyrant – intelligent kids, sacrificing, determined idealists – idealists all at the same time. For me the principal lesson of the campaign is that now Nicaragua knows that it can count on this treasure for its future. Not all the best children died in the war. With the living, we can carry out the other necessary wars to be fought, the war against social injustice, the war against poor health, the war against disease.

The Crusade is over. The People of Nicaragua and the commitment of the *Frente* made it possible. Thanks to their efforts Nicaragua will be totally different in the future. It will be a better nation, a nation that all Nicaraguans deserve. If that's not a triumph, excuse me, but then what the hell do you call a triumph?

Priest,
Squadron Teaching Supervisor

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